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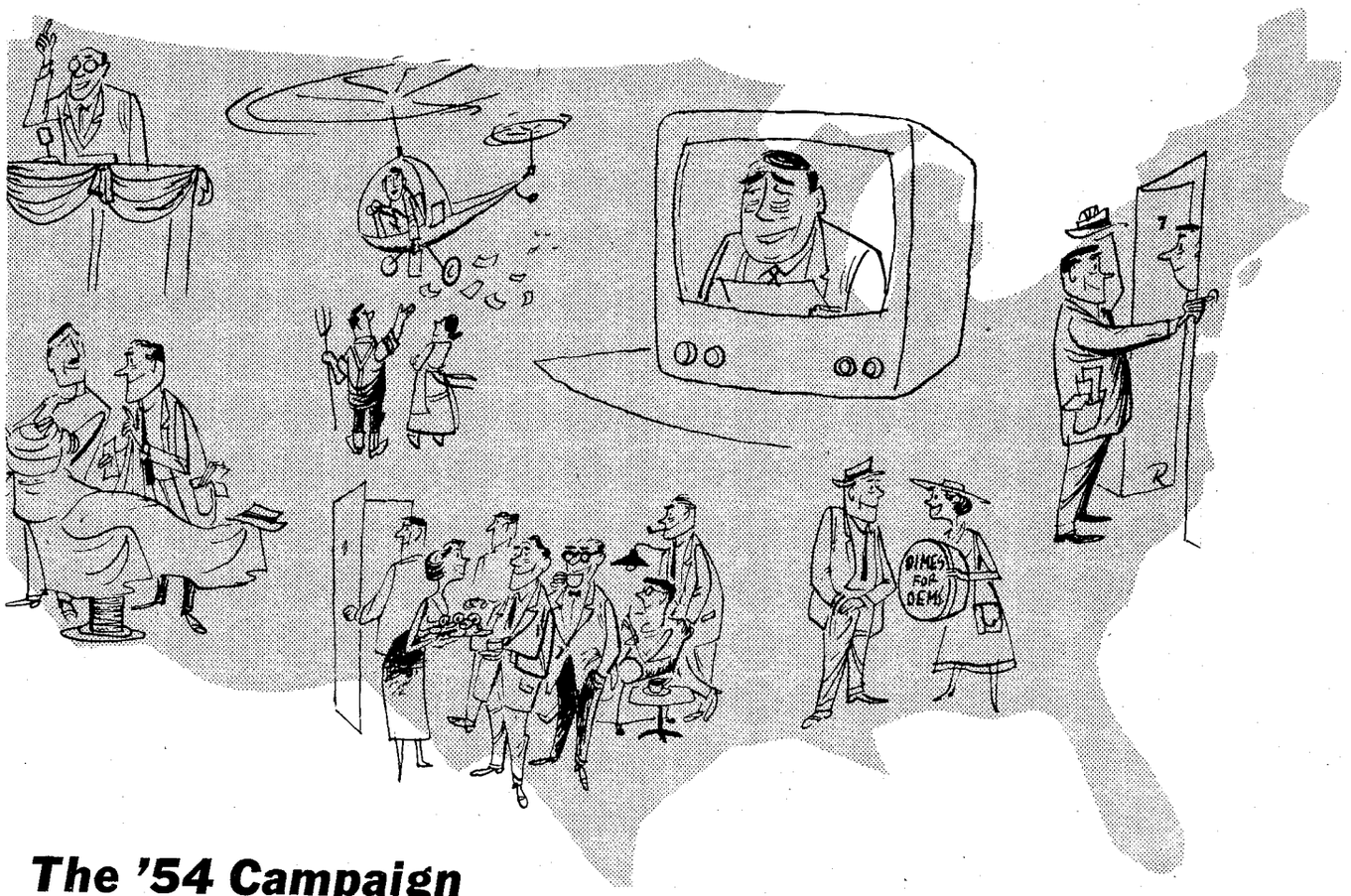
Beyond the Truce in Indo-China

New Republic



The '54 Campaign

The Democrats

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T. R. B.
★
Washington Wire

The clock marks the half hour, the President enters the ornate chamber, the reporters rise respectfully and sit again. Questions start. "Is Senator Knowland speaking for the Administration in his opposition to the Flanders anti-McCarthy resolution?" The President pauses and says, why, they haven't asked him about that—they haven't even asked him anything about that "You are taking no stand?" insists the reporter. The President says No, he is taking no stand now. A stir fills the room.

A reporter asks a complicated question. Is the Bricker Amendment (restricting Presidential treaty-making powers) written into the international section of the Atomic Energy Act? Bricker boasts it is; Lehman charges it is. The pending bill authorizes the President to exchange limited atomic information abroad but only with individual countries (*i.e.* not NATO) and each agreement requiring Senate and House approval. Isn't this a limitation on the President's "implied powers" to make broader executive agreements? Ike looks blank. He says he doesn't know exactly what Lehman is talking about. The bill looked all right to him, he says, the last time he saw it. Reporters who helped Ike block the original Bricker Amendment sigh unhappily.

A columnist recalls that three members of the Atomic Energy Commission opposed the Administration proposal to sign a contract letting private power into the TVA area. "Would you discuss the problem?" Ike answers suspiciously. The reporter, he says, is telling him things—the reporter is offering him a premise about the three AEC members that Ike didn't know existed. But, anyway, the AEC is not an "independent" commission in the sense of other commissions. . . . Reporters stampede for telephone booths. "He didn't know about the Bricker gimmick; he didn't know about the three Commissioners; no aid for Flanders!" This reporter steps into the blinding sunlight of Pennsylvania Avenue feeling remarkably blue.

We looked in on Joe McCarthy's hearing early last week, the only one since the Army controversy. The celebrated basso-profundo voice with gravel undertone was loud as life; fat boy Carr, the committee investigator with the odd bubble-face, alternately questioned and testified; the show was being run by one Senator as usual; as usual Joe wore his celebrated air of simple virtue falsely accused but able to see the humor of it, as he told of "130" Communists waiting for his exposure. Things were somehow changed though. Elsewhere in the Capitol Flanders was attacking; Roy Cohn was gone. Who would whisper in Joe's ear now? There were three spotlights but no TV. The motion picture cameras were mostly portable, hand-wound types, sounding like crickets. Yes, there was a difference. Only Mundt came in later. Here was Mundt, previously Judge and now again Jury; here was the Accused, back again now as Judge. It was odd to watch Mundt, seemingly flattered to be denouncing Communists again under the McCarthy aura. One glance at the relationship indicated the kind of report the chairman of the Mundt subcommittee would favor for the McCarthy-Army scrap.

Meanwhile Flanders, the admirable Vermont conservative, fought for his resolution of censure. He told a press conference frankly that he wished the Army had not decided to ignore the curious personal relationship of the McCarthy-Cohn-Schine triangle. He would be glad to have Administration support, he said. He didn't know how the majority leaders stood. He was not left long in doubt. GOP Leader Knowland curtly explained that the reason for postponing the Flanders move was because "Senate leadership has not surrendered either to CIO or ADA!"

The big story of the session is the atomic energy give-away bill. What reason could there be for holding this key issue back to the final weeks and then trying to ram it through in one day except that of slipping something foxy over on the public? A feature of the first week was the almost complete inability of newspapers to explain what the issues of the surprise bill were. They couldn't explain because they didn't know. Everybody had been looking the other way. The two basic issues were these: Thirty years evolution of federal water-power law has produced a body of careful, reasonable safeguards governing private exploitation—including "yardstick" plants run by the government. These safeguards for water-power were all omitted from the bill to turn atomic power over to private, monopolistic investment. Second: the Administration included a particularly flagrant power-grab for the TVA area. So ruthless was the Administration's drive that unfortunate GOP Sen. Sherman Cooper, Ky. (a first-rate citizen) waited an hour in the White House ante-room last week trying to see Ike to urge a compromise. He waited in vain. Ike was busy.

America's allies seem bent on exploring the possibility of peaceful coexistence with Communism. The question is not whether the policy is right or wrong but whether the US will try to isolate itself from the new trend in world affairs. Obviously Moscow will propose to negotiate a settlement with Britain and France over Germany, having done so on Indo-China. It looks here as though America may have some influence on affairs by participating; is apt to find herself more alone if she stands coldly aloof. Dulles seems too much a captive of Congress, however, to participate.

Notes: By a miracle the Flanders resolution might pass, but most observers think Senators would still rather be called yellow than pink. . . . Former Air Force Secretary, Sen. Stuart Symington (D, Mo.), told the Senate July 21, we face a new horror—intercontinental guided missiles, shooting H-bombs four or five thousand miles, propelled by two-stage rockets; for the next war soldiers won't even have to leave home.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Lyndon Johnson's "Gentlemen's Agreement"

LATE Saturday night, July 24, the small, growing band of Senators fighting the Administration's Atomic Energy Act Amendment was split. Debate already had lasted 11 days: the last four running around the clock. The Majority Leader, William Knowland of California, was red-faced and furious. He had done everything to break the group opposing him—even, after less than a week's debate on one of the most complicated measures ever sent to Congress, calling all-night sessions—but he had failed. The Minority Leader, Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, had, by contrast, done little, had held aloof, almost pouting, from the fight. Until Saturday.

During the day Johnson talked to Knowland several times. Then he waited. That evening, the results of his bid for another six years in the Senate (Texas primary results) reached him: victory in a state whose voters had just given their Governor, Allan Shivers, a taste of the vexation they could deal a Democrat who hob-nobbed too closely with Republicans. And suddenly Lyndon Johnson had something to say. He rose to propose a "gentlemen's agreement" limiting debate: a proposal made repeatedly by Republican Leader Knowland and repeatedly defeated. Democrats who had increasing reason to believe they could wring a compromise from the Republicans by holding firm a little longer were thus notified that the official Democratic leader had gone over to their opponents. Following immediately upon a House debate guaranteeing that even if atomic law improvements were won in the Senate, they would be nullified at a House-Senate conference, Johnson's action practically stamped "failure" on the fight by making it a "rebel movement," and split away those afraid to be associated with either.

The Republican Senators immediately rose to congratulate Johnson on his Texas victory and to praise him: "I hope he may serve long," "great leadership." And they flocked around to shake his hand. Most Democrats did not join in. They sat, contemplating this, their leader. Then the Senate recessed until Monday and "lyin' down" Johnson, standing up and smiling now, posed for photographers, with Knowland.

On the following day, Sunday, Sen. Albert Gore (D, Tenn.)—the energetic, middle-of-the-road leader of the fight, but also a man who plans a long career in the party and would like a reputation as a "team man"—began to back-track, announcing that a vote on the bill could be had in "three days if Senator Knowland will desist from his bulldozing tactics." Knowland, however, said he would "bulldoze" even further: invoke the rules that a Senator cannot leave nor lean on his desk while speaking, and "table" (kill) every amendment as it was offered.

Many Senators in the fight were disturbed by the lack of reaction from home. They had hoped, as during the "tidelands oil" debate, to make the public understand its stake in the legislation. To that end they kept their speeches, with but few exceptions, completely on the subject, unlike most filibusters. Amendments to improve the bill were offered again and again; and almost never allowed by Knowland to come to a vote. Yet this effort to "educate" seemed to fail. Few of the newspaper reporters understood the complicated issues involved—as did few of the Senators in the early days when Knowland insisted they vote on the 104-page bill—so the newspaper stories almost exclusively concerned the "cots in the lobby" and the "bleary-eyed Senators" aspects of the long debate. The fundamental point at issue—that it had taken this nation 30 years of law-making even to begin to solve the problems of regulating hydroelectric power, and that the proposed bill in disposing of atomic power ignored all that had been learned during those years—was seldom explained to the public. The result: Senators already anxious to get home and campaign did not feel they had succeeded in making the public understand why they were, seemingly, holding up measures in which the voter already understood his stake: farm supports, social security, etc. So the strange union of Southern Conservatives—who opened this fight by opposing the Administration's plan to use the Atomic Energy Commission as a means to weaken the Tennessee Valley Authority—and Northern Liberals—who joined the Southerners as the fundamental weakness of the entire bill began to clear during the

It must be nice to be a friend of the President.

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TVA debate — cracked when Lyndon Johnson joined the Republicans.

Johnson is the kind of leader who tries to find out the direction things have taken then hurries to get out in front. His eye is on the White House. His private explanation of his action in this case was that he found 15 Democrats ready to vote for the Administration's bill and considered it political suicide for the Democratic Party ever to be identified with Independent Wayne Morse. But the explanation missed the point. Once the Senate had voted to support the President's AEC-TVA order (*NR,* July 19) Democrats opposed to the Administration's atomic energy bill sought only to postpone a vote on that measure until it could be studied more closely. They were willing to consider as a separate law those sections authorizing freer exchange of atomic information, and the organization of an international atomic pool even though the wording of these sections renders them nearly useless. But they insisted that action on the sections dealing with private development of atomic power be postponed pending further investigation. Knowland, however, demanded that this most complicated and crucial bill be pushed through during the closing days of the session; infuriated by opposition, he called night sessions, refusing to allow action on the farm bill, the social-security bill or anything else.

Largely because of Knowland's attitude, the Democratic stand began to pick up support at a time when it should have been weakening. And since their goal was compromise and not outright rejection of the Administration request, the Democrats had a good chance to win when Lyndon Johnson crossed over. Just a few hours before, Wayne Morse had proposed a method by which Congress in 1913 convinced Woodrow Wilson to modify his stand on currency reform and made possible the Federal Reserve Bank Act: A Congressional Commission to discuss with the President the points at issue with the hope of finding a compromise.

But Morse has publicly said that Lyndon Johnson is more Republican than Democrat, and more "follower" than "leader." And Johnson's feelings about Morse are bitter. So all that had been gained for the idea of compromise during the long, weary hours on the Senate floor was nullified. If nothing else, the incident may finally convince Democratic Senators that the man they chose as leader is more concerned with his personal ambitions than with the record his party will present to the voter on election day.

Sutton's Friends

REP. PAT SUTTON'S brazen McCarthyite tactics against Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee have involved him in two libel suits for $1.5 million each. But they have also projected him into the role of a dangerous challenger.

Early this year, Florida gambling tycoons sent a representative into the state to contact anti-Kefauver groups. Sutton launched his campaign with the assistance of Bob Venn, a business associate of Mickey McBride, owner of an interstate gambling wire service, who in turn moved in circles with Cleveland mobster Al Polizzi. These racketeers ran afoul of the Kefauver Crime Investigating Committee three years ago.

When Sutton began barnstorming in a helicopter, an enterprising reporter of the *Nashville Tennesseean* uncovered the fact that the 'copter was partly owned by Charles B. Murphy, who was accountant for Frank Costello's Louisiana gambling enterprises. The machine was bought only two days before it was flown to Memphis for Sutton's use. The deal was initiated from Dallas, Texas. And Claude Taylor, officer of the flying service which provided the 'copter, said that he understood the first rental payment for Sutton also came from the great oil city.

No Housing

SHORT of a miracle, there will be no public housing while the Republicans hold power. The House removed all authorization for new construction from the President's Public Housing bill; the Senate put it back in: 140,000 units; 35,000 a year for 4 years. But as we have said in these pages (*NR,* June 7), public housing bills are written in conference and the lineup of the conference on housing guaranteed there would be none unless the Administration put extreme pressure on the Republican conferees. It did not. When preferential tax treatment for the 8 percent of American families which own publicly-held stock is the issue, the Administration will fight. When it comes to providing decent housing for those who live in the 15 million homes found to be "substandard" — "in slums," "dilapidated" or "without plumbing"—during the 1950 census, it will not.

The result: the bill as shaped by the conference allows 35,000 units to be built *for one year only, and only to house families displaced by slum clearance or urban redevelopment programs.* Some 20 communities in the whole country have such programs. That's all. Before the preliminary work—findings of need; estimation of families affected; application and approval—neces-

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sary to get more of them started in the 31 states where they are permissible could be finished, the one-year authorization will have expired.

Even These

DEFENSE SECRETARY Charles E. Wilson has refused to make public the reasons why Don Surine and Thomas LaVenia, two of McCarthy's investigators, have been denied Defense Department clearance. The American Civil Liberties Union, so often denounced by McCarthy and his aides, has protested this decision as "unfair" because it deprives the two men of their right as citizens to defend themselves against specific charges. A Defense Department "leak" reveals that one reason for denying LaVenia's clearance is his membership—17 years ago—in an organization which McCarthy has often denounced as "subversive" in his efforts to "get" public officials once associated with it: the American Law Students Association.

It's impossible not to enjoy the irony in all of this. But the protest against character assassination through vague, unanswerable charges against guilt by association, against the whole list of techniques perfected by fanatics who are "rightists" or "leftists" only by accident, but always extremists and anti-democratic, admits of no exception. The concept of civil rights was born of countless centuries of human suffering and fumbling. It is one of man's great concepts, and will endure because it protects those who would destroy it as well as those who cherish it.

New Big Three

FOR ABOUT a year three union leaders —John L. Lewis of the independent Mine Workers, Dave Beck of the AFL Teamsters and Dave McDonald of the CIO Steelworkers—have been giving the appearance of "splitting" the labor movement again and forming a "third federation" involving the "basic" industries such as coal, steel and transportation. There hasn't been any split and there isn't any clear reason for a new federation, but the gestures continue.

Recently most of the AFL and CIO leaders joined in a dinner celebrating their non-aggression and mutual assistance pact, widely accepted as indicating a future amalgamation of the two great federations. Beck and McDonald were conspicuously absent (in fairness it must be noted that Lewis was not invited). The next day Lewis, Beck and McDonald issued a meaningless press release, demanding no more than that President Eisenhower "do something" about unemployment, which emphasized what the curious trio apparently consider their solidarity. The press release was printed on a newly devised letterhead listing the names of the three organizations and carrying no reference to the fact that the Steelworkers are officially a branch of the CIO, the Teamsters an affiliate of the AFL.

The question necessarily arises: What do Beck, McDonald and Lewis have in common that makes them assert, repeatedly if only tentatively, a tripartite association obviously harassing to AFL President George Meany and CIO President Walter Reuther? For one thing, they are "bread and butter" unioneers, scornful of labor leaders who insist on pushing New Dealish positions on foreign policy, education, race relations. They are either former Republicans or close-to Republicans who would have no difficulty in shifting from Fair Deal policies to GOP Old Guard policies on many social issues, in return for a deal on purely labor matters. They also share a bitter antagonism toward Reuther or Meany or both.

A new labor federation with Lewis, Beck and McDonald as a kind of triumvirate in charge? We think not. But even if it happens, it won't make a great deal of difference. Reuther and Meany have time and facts on their side.

Dispatch from London

REBELS in the Conservative Party have launched a general attack on the government's Egyptian policy, largely on the grounds that any military advantages from dispersing the troops now in Suez would be offset by the political disadvantages in loss of prestige throughout the Middle East and Africa. How far the rebels will carry their opposition is unknown so far. It is said that when the last crisis arose over Suez last winter they threatened to vote steadily against the government on all issues until the government surrendered to them. It is doubtful whether they would go so far today. But every attempt to change their attitude has failed. When Sir Winston Churchill himself made an emotional appeal for loyalty at a private party meeting, it fell on barren ground. No doubt the rebels will make their main effort in September at the Conservative Party Conference, where chauvinist passion has more appeal than in Parliament. If so, the government will face a task as difficult as that facing the Labour Party on German rearmament.

The prospects on this at the coming Scarborough Conference of the Labour Party are closely balanced. So far about two million trade-union votes are lined up on each side, leaving a million constituency party votes and another million votes of the smaller unions to be fought over. The leadership is working hard to win the constituency parties in a series of regional conferences, but though opinion seems to be shifting slowly, the campaign may have started too late to be effective.

If the EDC, or something like it, is ratified before the end of September, then the Labour Party will probably accept the facts. And this now seems more probable than at any time in the last 12 months. French Premier Mendès-France, unlike his predecessors, seems determined to reach a decision one way or the other quickly. There is in fact almost a two-thirds majority in the French Assembly for German rearmament in some form, but a bare half for EDC in particular. The problem is simply to find a modification of EDC which will satisfy the Gaullists without repelling the other signatories of EDC. And Adenauer seems to agree with Mendès-France that this is not out of the question. Certainly the statement by Britain and the US that if EDC is not ratified they will seek to implement the Contractual Agreements abolishing their occupation rights, seems to have had a healthy effect all round, unlike earlier attempts to apply external pressure on the French.

London DENIS HEALEY, M. P.

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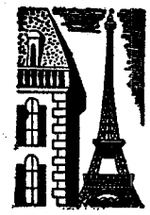
Paris Dispatch MENDES-FRANCE BACK HOME

Pierre Mendes-France expressed the opinion in his radio broadcast to the French people just before the end of the Geneva conference that the most serious obstacle in the path of a reasonable, equitable, viable compromise on the Indo-Chinese problem was distrust. It could be removed, he said, and he was very soon proved justified in his optimism.

The debate in the French National Assembly on the results of the conference was in this connection far more significant than the formal vote of confidence. For it was full of ominous overtones suggesting plainly that the same obstacle still remains to be overcome if a solution of the German problem is to be found. A majority of the French people accept the leadership of Mendès-France. But the members of parliament—even including those who voted for him on Indo-China—continue to distrust him on Germany.

The Atlanticists distrust him because he was able to get something from Molotov which their men hadn't been able to get. The anti-Americans distrust him because he seemed able to get along with Dulles. And the neutralists, who say they want France to co-exist without co-operation with either America or Russia, hold against him his ability to win friends and influence people on both sides.

So his hardest task and final test lie just ahead — within the next few weeks. True to the promise he made when he took office, he will bring the issue of German rearmament out into the open. The Assembly will discuss the EDC right after the Brussels meeting, scheduled now for August 10. The vote on ratification will probably take place therefore in time to meet the deadline set by the British and American governments.



The so-called confrontation of the supporters and opponents of EDC in the Assembly has thus far done nothing more than to strengthen the extremist views on both sides. The results at Geneva have made matters worse rather than better. The French neutralists are calling once again for another Berlin conference, for still one more "final" effort to negotiate with Moscow about Germany in a four-power conference. Encouraged by the motion voted at the congress of the West German Social Democratic Party and by the split in the British Labour Party, they are accepting as their own slogan on German rearmament the Bevanite "It Need Not Happen." On the other hand, the French "Europeanists" have become more strident in their insistence that German rearmament must happen, quickly, and only through EDC. The truce between the two leading French newspapers, the neutralist *Monde* and the Atlanticist *Figaro,* which lasted during the Geneva conference, has ended abruptly and harshly. Hubert Beuve Mery, the editor of the *Monde,* and Pierre Brisson, the editor of the *Figaro,* alternately cajole and warn Mendès-France to provide leadership in opposite directions.

If he helps ratify EDC, he is told, he will destroy his majority in the Assembly because the Gaullists will bolt. If he helps a rejection, he will destroy the links between France and her allies, and anyway the Socialists and the Popular Republicans will break away from him.

The truth seems to be that the chances for a compromise solution, an acceptable variant of EDC, have improved slightly. The opponents of the treaty are less united now than they were before the Communists became relatively "accommodating" at Geneva, and Molotov began hinting at a revival of his plan for an all-European collective security system for "big" Europe, rather than "little" Europe, anad with US participation. Previously the opponents had disagreed among themselves largely about the form and nature of the alternative to EDC; some degree of German rearmament would have been permitted by all but a small minority of die-hards. Now that minority has increased in size because some of the opponents have swung back to the Bevanite position that German rearmament need not happen at all.

This has disturbed the moderates in the opposition camp. The distance separating Communists and fellow-travelers has become uncomfortably small. Moreover, it seems unrealistic to believe that the Americans and British will falter in their intention to restore West German national sovereignty by the end of the autumn, and to get the rearmament started in one way or another by the end of the winter.

On the other side of the fence, there are supporters of EDC who, unlike Brisson and Georges Bidault, have become willing to consider some alterations, if not an alternative. The key issue is the loss of French national sovereignty, the merger of the French army into a fused European army, and above all, the creation of a supra-national authority. There is a chance that this supra-national feature might be modified or at least delayed without any real loss of the basic EDC principle or in the efficiency of the military pattern.

While the all-out "Europeanists" are being rallied by Guy Mollet, René Mayer and Robert Lecourt, study is going on behind the scenes to reach agreement on possible amendments of EDC that would satisfy the moderates among the opponents. The plan is to submit these amendments to the other five nations of "little Europe" *before* bringing up the treaty for ratification by the French National Assembly. They would be added to the reservations already voted by the Assembly, the so-called "additional protocols." In this way, they would not need action by the parliaments and would, therefore, meet the objections voiced by Adenauer and Spaak.

The fact that Mendès-France has approved starting the Assembly debate *after* the Brussels meeting suggests that the French delegation will have something new to offer there. Thus far, the only novelty talked or rumored about is the change in the supra-national feature of the treaty. But if Mendès-France stands behind such an attempted compromise, he knows better than to declare his position in advance.

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AN EDITORIAL:

Beyond the Truce in Indo-China

I. Can South Asia Be Saved?

THE GENEVA CONFERENCE was a great diplomatic defeat for the non-Communist world. And while a military defeat is retrievable, there is a finality to a diplomatic defeat that cannot be overcome. Far more was salvaged from the ruins of colonialism in Indo-China than the French had any right to demand or reason to expect. In return the signatories of the truce agreement grant what the United States refuses to recognize—the permanence and strength of Communist China. From this act a new era may follow.

In the emergence of this new era lies the real significance of Geneva. But first it is worth assessing the good and the bad in the truce agreement itself. In praise of the negotiators it should be said that four gains are registered that do not reflect French power:

The French are given 300 days to leave Haiphong;

The Viet-Minh forces agree to withdraw from Laos;

The Communist-led Khmer Resistance Forces are to be disbanded in Cambodia;

Viet-Nam itself is divided close to the Seventeenth Parallel.

The first of these gains permits France to salvage material and men that would have fallen into Communist hands, and gives her time to reassert herself in Europe. In other hands time has been wasted in Paris. But France's new found leader by moving at once on EDC and by granting immediate independence to Viet-Nam, has shown that he will make use of the time.

The second gain is more doubtful. Northern Laos is the natural base of operations for Communist expansion toward Thailand, Burma and the rest of South Asia. There is no way in which the Laos government can drive the Communist forces from that territory, and would be utopian to suppose that they will withdraw.

The third gain is more promising. Cambodia alone emerges unscathed from the truce agreement and that in turn reflects the militancy of its leadership and the unity of the nation. Yet the state is too small to survive long unprotected. The plains and marshes that make up its borders are indefensible, and only if India and Burma speak for it can it live.

Lastly, the division of Viet-Nam is a real, if momentary, concession by the Communists. Eighty percent of the illiterate people of Viet-Nam would choose Ho Chi Minh, if pictures of Ho and Bao Dai were placed before them in a free election. Yet 50 percent of the people, by consent of the Communists, remain under Viet-Namese rule. Nor is the truncated state of Viet-Nam as absurd as it appears to be on first sight. Northern and Southern Viet-Nam were traditionally held separate under Chinese and French rule. They are made up of different peoples, with different languages and cultures. The South is a substantial rice exporting area, in contrast to the North where food is short and hunger is imminent this autumn. The people of the South are anti-Communist and hate the Chinese almost as much as they hate the French. In addition, they are governed for the first time by a real leader; one who is not a French citizen, and who is respected by his people for resistance to the French. Premier Ngo Dinh Dien is a Catholic, and he comes from the border area of Hue; so he lacks universal appeal. He begins with a national disaster which he accepted only under duress. But around him a government could be built.

It could be—that phrase has induced one illusion after another in Indo-China over the last eight years. The truth is, of course, that the dynamic forces in Indo-China are on the Communist side. The North is strong and growing stronger. The South is weak and growing weaker. And written into the terms of the military truce is a political clause which seems to ensure the transfer of Southern Viet-Nam to Communist rule:

> Pending the general elections which will bring about the unification of Viet-Nam, the conduct of civil administration in each regrouping zone shall be in the hands of the party whose forces are to be regrouped there in virtue of the present agreement.

This clause apparently ensures that the elections guaranteed for 1956 will be for a central government for Viet-Nam, and it grants the Communists footholds in non-Communist territory until the elections are held. It seems inconceivable that anti-Communist candidates will venture to run for office in Communist-ruled areas. It is equally hard to believe that governments as weak as the Viet-Namese can survive while Communist candidates campaign for election in every village council or assembly district. The prestige of the Viet-Minh is enormous. The whole movement of history is toward the Viet-Minh side. The least that the Viet-Minh can hope for following the elections is a coalition government heavily dominated by Communists.

Barring a political miracle brought about by liberation from France, economic aid from America and the emergence of a local will to survive free, it seems cer-

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tain that, by the terms of the truce agreement, the Communist conquest of Viet-Nam may be simply delayed for two years, and then brought about legally with the assent of the West.

II. The Isolation of the US

To the weary of the world the peacemakers are always blessed. The oppressed may curse silently each settlement that sanctions their enslavement. For others, the terms of peace seem frequently to be less important than the fact that a halt has been called to killing.

For this reason alone the truce signed at Geneva that brought eight years of warfare to an end was greeted by most of the world as a notable achievement for which the signatories deserved praise. Ignoring this universal human response, the United States absented itself from the peacemakers. Thus when Prime Minister Nehru of India hailed the truce as "one of the outstanding achievements of the postwar era," he made a point of sending messages of congratulation to V. M. Molotov and to Chou En-lai, but not to Secretary Dulles. Most Americans, including the editors of this journal, have not been among the admirers of Nehru's foreign policy. Yet it would be worse than stupid to suppose that on this occasion Nehru did not speak for most of free Asia. In fact when Senators Sparkman and Knowland compounded the damage done to the United States by attacking the cease-fire, the press of Britain and France re-emphasized Nehru's view.

Far wiser, the Communist negotiators at Geneva settled for much less territory than they could have gained in a few more battles against the collapsing forces of Colonial France. For, in return, they gained a far more valuable asset—gratitude.

While the Communists have moved much closer to the non-Communist nations, the United States, under President Eisenhower, has moved steadily away from them. Even at the start of the Geneva Conference, Secretary Dulles ensured the isolation of the US by declaring that his purpose at Geneva was to force the unhappy Communists "to purge themselves of their aggression." Pursuing this fantastic misappraisal of the situation to its hysterical end, the Eisenhower Administration approached within hours of an atomic air strike against Indo-China that would have made our isolation final and perhaps fatal. And when this gesture was vetoed by wiser men, the Administration formalized this nation's isolation by refusing to sign the truce.

Nehru in praising the truce agreement noted that for the first time in generations there is no war in the world. The significance of the longed-for moment is not lost on other peoples. But it finds our government directing its principal efforts overseas to military preparedness. Twenty-five million dollars of the $1.25 billion in aid for South Asia this year is military aid. That is, two cents in every dollar of aid. And now that military aid has ended in military collapse, the response of our Administration is to proclaim that the truce must be followed without delay by a military alliance for Southeast Asia to hold the present frontiers against further military aggression. The plan is wholly premature. For no military association with the United States can be accepted by the Asian nations as long as we are committed to backing the reconquest of China by Chiang Kai-shek. Beyond this the pact is certain to arouse the intense suspicion and hostility of non-Communist Asia. For the US and Britain will be able to gather only two Asian nations, Thailand and the Philippines, into their pact, and thus the pact will be regarded as the final effort of white imperialists to maintain their privileged status in the Far East.

WHILE the United States speaks the language hateful to Asians of armaments and preparations for war, Communist China speaks the welcome language of peace. If peace can be secured by negotiation in Indo-China, Chou asserts, then peace can be assumed for all nations. His concluding speech at Geneva strongly suggests that he will follow up the tremendous political initiative that he has gained by offering a series of non-aggression pacts with all Asian nations. India has already concluded a limited agreement along the lines Chou proposes. Burma, Indonesia, India would almost certainly welcome wider treaties with China. Beyond Asia it seems certain that full diplomatic relations will soon be established between Britain and Communist China. France, Germany, Japan and other fast friends of the US are bent on increasing their trade with China and the Communist world. Thus the strength and stability of the Communist world, the costs of the Cold War, and the fear of atomic warfare are rapidly bringing about a new period of accommodation between the Communist and non-Communist nations. In this period, the United States will have to choose between isolation and accommodation. Before we reject accommodation, through trade and recognition, as unfeasible and wrong, we should reflect that isolation can mean the loss of all Asia and continental Europe within 10 years.

By weakness and default, the Eisenhower Administration is choosing isolation as its course. It maintains high tariffs while others demand trade. It clings to the fiction that the government of Formosa is the government of China, while others move to acknowledge reality. Our allies argue with conviction that the United Nations can be destroyed by our adherence to fiction. And Secretary Dulles answers, "We have the votes."

Our policy is approaching bankruptcy. Our emphasis on military preparation is worse than useless in the Asia that Chou En-lai prepares to win largely by non-military means. If isolation in America was a principal danger during the Cold War, the isolation of the United States under President Eisenhower is the danger to come.

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"The Only Thing That Will Cut Oil Is Sweat"

Democrats Will "Go Visiting"

by Tom Fitzsimmons

UNABLE to compete in kind with the ad-agency-managed, all-stops-pulled Republican campaign plan for the fall ("Operation Huckster," *NR*, April 26), Democrats are determined to make a virtue of necessity. They have 215 House seats and 22 Senate seats on the block. The Republicans 219 and 15. Thirteen of the Democratic Senate seats are considered "safe," and 7 of the Republican. The Democrats intend to hold those 13 and win some of the 7 by meeting the "smooth" Republican operation and its "merchandized" candidates, with a homely, old-fashioned person-to-person campaign. Their unofficial battle cry was uttered by one of the men who will be fighting hardest, Sen. Paul Douglas of Illinois: "The only thing that will cut oil is sweat."

THE '54 CAMPAIGN

Like the Republicans, Democrats this year will "go where the folks are." In fact, Democratic candidates are likely to pop up anywhere: at ball-park exits, among the watermelons at a picnic, in the town-square barber shop, even on TV how-to-cook shows for women. But they will "keep it plain," or try to. Republicans officially have admitted to a $4 million campaign fund, and it is common knowledge that their Chiefs of Staff—executives of Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn, advertising; and the Whitaker and Baxter, the Carl Byoir, and the Steve Hannegan public-relations firms—are budgeting on the basis of twice that much. The Democratic Party and its labor allies cannot match even the official Republican amount. They intend to say so, over and over again, and to adopt the very opposite of the "Huckster" approach to drive the message home.

Democratic techniques will have a turn-of-the-century flavor—lots of handshaking, lots of talking to small groups (from within the group, not from a platform), lots of real, sincere, friendly smiling. But north of the Mason-Dixon line at least the old whisky keg will be replaced by doughnuts and coffee.

Both parties this year are turning to women as never before—not only for votes, but for work. In the cities especially, the idea is to make the family living room a stage for the kind of political drama once played in meeting halls. Ten or a dozen neighborhood women asked over for coffee of an afternoon can be talked to and impressed as no mass meeting-hall audience ever could be—and produce a far higher percentage of volunteer workers. The Republicans have armed their ladies with little 14 pound leatherette cases containing a 35mm. film projector, a turntable for long-playing records, a loudspeaker and a roll of film strips: the theory is that a combined voice-and-eye political message delivered in intimate surroundings, and with no rebuttal possible, will be devastatingly effective. Democratic ladies will not have any such gadgets, but you can be sure that they will talk about not having them and wonder aloud where the Republicans get the money for these "fancy gimmicks." Every now and then Democratic ladies will be able to tie in their coffee hour with a radio or TV address by the candidate. And once during the campaign they may be able to offer a special treat with a nice, homey touch: "Meet the candidate and ask him yourself."

This improvement on the coffee hour has already been used in the South this year, during the Democratic primaries. Reports from the candidates who have used it are so enthusiastic it is bound to be adopted by many others in the fall. Gov. Sid McMath, campaigning against Sen. John L. McClellan in Arkansas, had to keep expenses to a minimum, so he turned to the coffee hour idea and began to develop it. When he was through it worked like this: volunteer workers set up, several days in advance, a series of house meetings not too far from one another at 9, 10 and 11 a.m., at 2, 3 and 4 in the afternoon, and at 7, 8 and 9 in the evening; guests are assured they will not be kept more than one hour; they arrive and for 15 minutes discuss the candidate's program and promises; promptly at a quarter past the hour, the candidate arrives; he talks for 15 minutes, then shakes hands, answers questions and generally is available to everyone for another 15 minutes; then he leaves for the next meeting; during the last 15 minutes the hostess recruits volunteers to give similar coffee parties—with a different set of guests—in their own homes, and to perform the innumerable chores of campaigning. A lot of people can be met, smiled at and reasoned with in this way.

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And although highly organized, the method smacks not at all of the high-pressure, oily-smooth, impersonal public-relations gimmick.

The coffee hour already is well-established in California, Minnesota, Oregon, Illinois and Michigan. The Democratic National Committee is recommending it everywhere and, as it spreads, the Arkansas refinement will probably spread with it.

The coffee hour technique, though, is pretty much restricted to cities. Out in the country Democratic candidates will rely on some old, time-tested methods. Many of the razzle-dazzle stunts thought up in recent years—hill-billy bands, etc.—will be dropped. The focus will be on the candidate's personality, his record, and the stake local folks have in Congressional and Executive decisions. No candidate will willingly miss a county fair—and certainly not a state fair—where he can roam around and shake hands while his helpers gather small groups for him to talk with. Paul Douglas, like many others, travels through the small towns of his state preceded by young volunteers who gather crowds in front of the courthouse or town hall; when he gets there, they're waiting and he talks. Afterwards he walks the main street, drops in at the barber shop, the general store, wherever there are hands to shake and folks to greet. This will be the pattern in most rural areas. Democrats will serve as judges for everything from beauty contests to pickled-beets competitions. They will eat pies, shear sheep and pick corn. Cows they will certainly milk. A lot of farmers are plain mad at the Republicans it seems; the Democrats are determined to make a friend of each and every one of them they can reach.

Some Democratic candidates in rural areas have dramatized their need for funds by holding an auction: sympathetic farmers bring old furniture, clothes and machinery to sell; the candidate gets the proceeds. Kenneth Holum, running against Republican Sen. Karl Mundt in South Dakota, couldn't get into the newspapers; he called for a "hay-lift" to get his feed harvested so he could campaign; 70-odd farmer friends arrived with tractors, stackers and muscle to help him do the job; then they had a barbecue—the papers carried the story.

THERE WILL, of course, be billboards, sound trucks, and even a few helicopters used. And every candidate will try for as much TV time as he can get. A few may even be able to afford a "talkathon"—answering telephoned questions over TV for 24 or so hours in a row. Some Democratic Senators have made 15-minute films for TV showing back home; some like Guy Gillette of Iowa, to explain that he can't come back and counter his opponent's campaign yet because the Senate is still in session. Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota has been doing a weekly show dramatizing Senate debates—complete with authentic background noises and dialogue taken from the *Congressional Record*—in which he has played a leading role. Some candidates are planning "comic-book" presentations of their careers and their platform; others, rotogravure newspapers—one issue—depicting their family life, or tabloid newspapers giving in news-story form their opinions on various questions.

MONEY, of course, is the first concern of the candidates. As one way of getting it, the Democratic National Committee allots a quota to each state committee. The state committees also raise money for their own candidates, and each candidate tries to raise money for himself. This year, the National Committee is giving most of what it collects to the Senate and the House Campaign Committees, keeping a minimum itself for emergencies. The Senate and House Committees, which also collect wherever they can, decide which candidates will have the hardest fights and dole out their funds accordingly. On the Senate side, key fights for seats Democrats now hold are in Illinois (Paul Douglas), Delaware (Allen Frear Jr.), Ohio (Thomas A. Burke), New Mexico (Clinton P. Anderson), Iowa (Guy Gillette), Minnesota (Hubert Humphrey), Montana (James E. Murray), and Colorado (where Edwin C. Johnson, the present Senator is bidding for the Governorship). Best chances for Democrats to take a Republican seat are in Kentucky (Alben Barkley challenging John Sherman Cooper), New Jersey (Charles R. Howell against, probably, Republican Clifford Case), Massachusetts (Foster Furcolo challenging Leverett Saltonstall), and Oregon (Richard L. Neuberger challenging Guy Cordon). Democratic money will be concentrated in these races and in the closest House races.

In addition to the usual fund-raising methods—dinners at $10 and up a plate, with some party leader as main attraction—the Democrats are trying a new kind of appeal this year. Katie Louchheim, Director of Women's Activities for the National Committee, has organized a "Dollars for Democrats" drive for September 22—Democratic Women's Day. The slogan is "Drop a Dollar in the Hat, and Help Elect a Democrat" and every Democratic Women's Club member is expected to carry a hatbox from door to door to collect those dollars. Half the money will remain in the state, half will go to the National Committee. The thought behind this drive is to present the Democratic as the party which depends on individual dollars from individual people to stay in business, and which consequently owes its loyalty only to *them*.

Besides collecting and distributing money, the National Committee also will provide material for

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speeches on national issues and co-ordinate state and county purchases of standard campaign materials. The Senate and House Committees, however, are the places where a candidate gets most of his campaign ammunition. These Committees stay out of primary races, but the moment a man becomes the official Democratic candidate he receives—if he is trying to unseat a Republican—his opponent's voting record, every word of his contained in the *Congressional Record* along with copies of the bills he has sponsored, committee reports he has signed, etc. As the campaign progresses, the candidate can ask and receive data to refute his opponent's charges and claims, if such exists, as well as speeches by Democrats containing counter-charges and claims.

The Congressional committees advise a candidate on new, successful techniques—like coffee hours—and how to use them, and warns him about those that boomerang; they help him make contact with farm, labor, veteran and professional groups, and advise him on how best to exploit his own background and get newspaper coverage of his campaign; and they warn him of Republican plans whenever they can.

WORKING alongside these official Democratic organizations are the political action arms of the labor unions—notably the CIO's Political Action Committee (PAC) and the AFL's Labor's League for Political Education (LLPE). Theoretically, these groups will support a Republican as readily as a Democrat, depending on who has the better pro-labor record; actually, Democrats are organized labor's choice nine times out of 10.

The PAC is big. Like the Democratic Party organization, it works through state, county and precinct committees—over 400 of them. The CIO membership — 6 million claimed — provides a broad source for funds—not everyone gives, however, and most donations are of one dollar or so. In a hazily-worded section, the Taft-Hartley Act prohibits use of union money in "federal" campaigns. In practice, this is interpreted to mean that money voluntarily contributed to the PAC for political action, as contrasted to union-dues money, *can* be used in "federal" campaigns, and it is. Candidates are endorsed in the various districts and states, union leaders urge their election, and PAC committee members work for them.

The PAC office in Washington handles the research and "idea" end of the operation and provides material the local committees need. This year there are the usual pamphlets urging PAC contributions; "54 Facts" booklets (shirt-pocket size), full of brief, illustrated arguments, with supporting data on "Farmers," "Jobs," "Social Security," etc. These are for public distribution at factory gates, rallies, and county fair PAC booths.

For candidates and committees there is a PAC "Handbook for Radio and Television," giving precise information about how to get on the air, what to do, when to do it, how effective it is, and how much it probably will cost. There is a thick "1954 Handbook" for speakers and writers (cost $3), giving data on all major issues, "talking points," quotes from statements by Administration officials, members of Congress, and, of course, the President; party platforms are compared to one another and to the record, and the "CIO Program" on each issue is outlined. Detailed voting records also are supplied, and special queries—"the opposition candidate claims he got the government to build this new bridge (highway, dam, veterans' hospital) at Polks Creek, did he?"—are answered.

The LLPE will be working just as hard as PAC, if on a somewhat smaller scale, and apparently will concentrate this year on destroying the "Eisenhower myth": the idea, seemingly prevalent, that the President is a good fellow and would do the "right thing" if those nasty politicians would let him.

On the whole, the labor unions will approach campaigning as fundamentalists: the job is to *locate* what support you already have and get it to the polls; the best method is door-to-door appeal—in your own neighborhood. Which fits in nicely with Democratic plans to "go to the folks" as folks.

FORMER Vice President Alben Barkley, now seeking the Kentucky Senate seat held by Republican John Sherman Cooper, never campaigns. He "just goes visiting." And that will be the tenor of most Democratic campaigns this year: nothing fancy, nothing slick, just a man who thinks he can do a job better than the other fellow (that fellow with all the money; wonder where he gets it) and is visiting friends to tell them why.

There will be exceptions. But one thing which will mark the entire Democratic effort this year is decentralization. Each state and district is assumed to understand its own problems best.

There will be exceptions. But one thing which will mark the entire Democratic effort this year is decentralization. Each state and district is assumed to understand its own problems best.

National headquarters will offer advice and help, but the local people will be in control. There is an ironic contrast here with a Republican (the "local control" party) operation directed from Madison Avenue. The Democratic answer to BBDO and Robert Montgomery this year is the neighborhood precinct worker.

It may work. It was not unheard-of once in this country for a lot of laughing men to empty the wealthy candidate's whisky barrel on a sunny afternoon, then vote for his opponent the next morning.

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The "Joe Must Go" Movement Under Fire

Political Storm in Baraboo

by Richard Lewis

ONE TRAFFIC signal away from Harlan Kelley's office in the county courthouse in Baraboo, Wisconsin, is the Sauk County jail. There, at the edge of town, a sign hangs beneath the ground floor windows prohibiting passersby from holding conversations with prisoners. It is Kelley's fond hope that the prisoners will soon include a new inmate, Leroy Gore.

Gore, of course, is the editor of the *Sauk-Prairie Star*, and the founder of the recall movement known as "Joe Must Go." The movement made Gore famous and it is Kelley's intention that the fame spread to him.

Kelley is the District Attorney of Sauk County, appointed by Wisconsin Governor Walter Kohler in 1951. He is also a distant relative of Republican National Committeeman Henry E. Ringling, a member of the circus family. In fact, the District Attorney's father John M. Kelley was General Counsel for the Ringling Brothers' circus enterprise until in 1938 he was convicted of income-tax fraud in connection with his preparation of circus tax returns.

After his release from the federal penitentiary in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, John Kelley retired to Baraboo. There his son Harlan joined him only a few months before he became District Attorney. The Kelleys, father and son, reside in a spacious family house where the elder Kelley is writing a book about the circus and helping Henry Ringling establish a circus museum in Baraboo. In turn, Ringling, the county's leading lawyer, helped raise Harlan Kelley to his present position and is supporting him for another term.

Until Leroy Gore made Sauk City a national byword very few people had heard of Harlan Kelley. He tried once to run for Congress and was shunted aside. His most conspicuous hour in politics came at four o'clock one morning toward the close of the 1948 Republican National Convention when he nominated General Douglas MacArthur for President in a vigorous speech before a handful of indifferent delegates. In recent years Kelley has become blind and has suffered the further handicap of amputation of both legs as the result of a diabetic and circulatory condition. Nevertheless he has responded to the challenge presented by Gore with an investigation that would tax the resources of the McCarthy Committee itself.

Kelley has been investigating the "Joe Must Go" movement on the theory that somewhere among the hundreds of thousands of signatures listed on 20,000 recall petitions there must be violations of Wisconsin's Corrupt Practices Act. The unco-operative Gore made his task harder by removing the petitions, in the manner of a political refugee from Wisconsin, to a Chicago warehouse where he intends to use them as a mailing list for a new movement to recall McCarthy after the November elections are over. Meanwhile Kelley has announced that more violations of the Corrupt Practices Act are proved by complaints he says he has already received. These complaints are secret and Kelley isn't willing to describe them in detail or even to identify them except to hint that forgery, perjury, obtaining money by false pretenses and other crimes are involved. Faithfully copying a favorite mannerism of McCarthy who loves to spell out the punctuation of his remarks to heighten their dramatic impact, Kelley declares, "An awful lot of people are going to be in trouble. I will probably issue a large number of warrants against a large number of people. Period."

IT WAS in March, 1954, that Leroy Gore jumped the gun on more expert opponents of McCarthy by launching the recall movement in the *Sauk-Prairie Star*. Democrats had considered the plan in another context and discarded it as impracticable. Above all they disliked the statutory requirement of 25 percent of the total vote for Governor in the previous election. They regarded this objective as barely possible after the off-year elections of 1954, but wholly unrealizable after the heavy vote of 1,613,214 cast in 1952. Twenty-five percent of the total amounted to 403,804 signatures and the "Joe Must Go" movement was allotted 60 days to gather them by the state constitution. When the time limit expired at midnight on June 5 Gore claimed 335,000 "valid" signatures. Republican organization leaders concluded that 50,000 of the signatures were "good."

Outwardly the organization leaders spoke of the recall movement as a minor distraction and were careful to avoid any suggestion of reprisal against its backers. Inwardly they boiled, and Gore among others maintains

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that Kelley's investigation is designed to instill the fear of criminal prosecution into signers and circulators. Gore himself has ignored a subpoena by a Justice of the Peace to turn the petitions over to Kelley. He maintains that no one need be afraid. "It would take Kelley a hundred years to investigate those names," says Gore, "assuming he had a staff to investigate them —which he hasn't."

In fact Kelley's staff consists of his tireless and efficient wife Louise who is on the county payroll as his stenographer, and one assistant, a young attorney from Sauk City named Robert Curtin. Busy with other work in the District Attorney's office, Curtin has played no part in the "Joe Must Go" investigation and is in fact anxious to remain neutral. "He has to live with those Gore people over in Sauk City," explains Kelley.

What Kelley lacks in staff, he makes up in militancy. He says of Gore: "I'll send him to jail and I'll keep him there until he produces the petitions. Period."

THE District Attorney's probe began last May after Sauk City Judge Henry J. Bohn denied a petition of McCarthy supporters in Sauk City for a special investigation of the recall movement by a special prosecutor. The judge ruled that such an investigation would be a waste of funds because the Corrupt Practices Act did not apply to the act of petitioning for a recall. Kelley disregarded this decision. He decided that the act did apply to a recall and took his business to Justice of the Peace John G. Terbilcox who granted a petition authorizing Kelley to make a John Doe investigation.

This is a process by which a prosecutor may investigate a crime without knowing what it is or whether it was actually committed. In order to establish whether there has been a law violation, the prosecutor is empowered to act as a one-man grand jury. He may hold secret hearings, interrogate witnesses without their counsel being present and without making a charge.

Gore and his Sauk City neighbor, Carl Lachmund, who is secretary of the "Joe Must Go" Club of Wisconsin, Inc., were summoned to such a hearing in Kelley's office. Their attorney, Ivan Nestingen, one of 12 Madison aldermen who signed the "Joe Must Go" petition, was shut out. "It was the most ridiculous thing you could imagine," Gore relates. "Kelley seemed to have me confused with someone else and kept asking me if I ever used another name. I said, 'Now look here, Harlan, you know who I am and I know who you are, so let's get down to facts, if you have any. I have enough trouble just being myself.' And there was poor Carl. He's a lumber dealer. His people were the first settlers in this county. Carl's never done anything more sinful than play bridge at a quarter of a cent a point, and there he was being questioned about Corrupt Practices."

Kelley asked Lachmund to produce the club's financial records and Lachmund said he would as soon as he got his monthly statement from the bank. "He was stalling me," Kelley says. "Anybody knows that you can go in and ask for a bank statement and they'll give it to you." As Kelley portrays him, Gore is a Jekyll-Hyde type, masquerading as a weekly newspaper editor for some purpose the district attorney intends to uncover, and Lachmund is a shrewd financial manipulator, which would make him the logical choice for treasurer of such a movement, even though he may appear to be merely selling lumber. "We think, and there is some reason to believe, that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is financing this thing," Kelley says.

"Joe Must Go" Club meets in Sauk City

Gore has branded the investigation as "the largest mass character assassination and intimidation project in the history of Wisconsin." Gore's supporters have warned the Sauk County Board they will oppose any request for additional funds for the probe. It is being financed out of the annual appropriation for Kelley's office of $5,000. In a letter to the Board July 5, a former member John Semrad urged that the Board cut off funds "for the district attorney's asinine investigation . . . before that investigation bankrupts the county and makes us the laughing stock of the state."

Outside of threatening to put Gore and others in jail, Kelley so far has issued warrants charging three Milwaukee firms with making illegal contributions to the "Joe Must Go" movement under a statute prohibiting corporations from financing any political campaign. He withdrew charges against one when it developed that the $5 contribution it was alleged to have sent actually had been made by an executive's wife.

In all the fury that rages around his relative and protégé, Henry Ringling takes a public stance of cautious pride. "I thought the job would be too much for Harlan," he says. "But he's done a marvelous job here." Beyond this Ringling wants you to believe that the "Joe Must Go" movement might be going—or coming—in Afghanistan as far as he is concerned. "I haven't talked to Harlan about it at all," he says.

Nevertheless, it was Ringling who tabulated the reports of party spies on petition signing in such centers

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as Madison, Kenosha, Racine, Fond du Lac and Green Bay and who announced that not more than 50,000 persons had signed. "In politics, you like to know what is going on," says John H. Rouse, another Baraboo resident and executive secretary of the state Republican Voluntary Committee.

If there were violations of the law, says Ringling impartially, it is Kelley's duty to investigate them. That is what a district attorney is for, agrees Rouse. He had been district attorney of Sauk City some years before Kelley was appointed to fill an unexpired term caused by the death of the incumbent. "A tempest in a teapot," adds Ringling, referring to the "Joe Must Go" movement. "A few malcontents stirring things up."

Nonetheless, this particular teapot appears to have the dimensions of the state of Wisconsin, and the tempest has divided the party from the Illinois border to Lake Superior.

In the state capitol at Madison, Secretary of State Fred R. Zimmerman, 72, signed the recall petition with a flourish and offered to run against McCarthy.

Zimmerman, who looks as politically formidable as a Spanish-American War veteran in a County Home, is running for renomination against the regular organization with nothing to support him but his record as the most popular Secretary of State Wisconsin ever had and the party's best vote getter. He welcomes callers to his office with the eagerness of a resort hotel manager greeting a tourist during the rainy season. To out-of-state visitors, he points out the beauties of Wisconsin and begs them to drop in again. Two years ago, Zimmerman led the ticket with 1,039,317 votes, compared with 979,744 for Eisenhower and 870,444 for McCarthy, who trailed the ticket. He makes no bones of his view that Joe must go.

IN CONTRAST, Wisconsin's man of distinction, Governor Kohler, views McCarthy with suppressed alarm, as though the junior Senator was a hell-raising fraternity brother one is obligated to put up with for the sake of the House.

Beneath these leading lights of the state which gave birth to the Republican Party the schism runs from the state house to the courthouse. At Baraboo, where Kelley is battling for McCarthy on the third floor, County Clerk J. Victor John on the first floor is quietly hoping that McCarthy gets the hook.

The counter-attack took the form of a vigilante campaign to run the "Joe Must Go" headquarters out of town. Its slogan became, "The Door for Gore." Organizer of the counter-movement is Roman Reuter, a debonair restaurateur and mink ranch operator. He launched it while he was running for state commander of the American Legion. He withdrew as a candidate after the Legion declined to endorse his movement.

Reuter has set up his headquarters in the back room of Otto Lehman's saloon, overlooking the Wisconsin River. Daily, he receives a pile of mail. It includes commendations from the For America Organization of Wisconsin, the Youth for McCarthy Club of Corpus Christi, Tex., and from Bradley R. Taylor, assistant campaign director of the Republican National Committee; also a postal card from Sleepy Eye, Minn., religious tracts from Los Angeles, a defense of McCarthy by the National Economic Council and a four-page, anti-Semitic newspaper published in New Jersey. From Milwaukee comes a printed card which states: "Joe Must Stay, The Rats Must Go. Call Batzner, Your Friendly Exterminator."

REUTER appeared at the first mass meeting of the Joe Must Go Club and raised an issue about the location of the American flag. It wasn't placed according to the Legion manual, he said. This provoked a heated argument between Reuter and the national guardsman who had set up the flag according to the US Army manual. The mink rancher then enlisted the aid of a criminal lawyer in Madison and the two journeyed to Baraboo to ask for the special investigation of the "Joe Must Go" movement at state expense—which Judge Bohn denied. Reuter filed a complaint with Kelley charging the recallers with violations of the Corrupt Practices Act. Then, he appealed to the Sauk City Men's Club—which performs as the Chamber of Commerce—for the removal of the "Joe Must Go" headquarters on the theory it was giving the village notoriety. The Men's Club gave Leroy Gore a vote of confidence—unanimously.

Foiled again, Reuter began circulating a state wide petition of confidence in McCarthy under the slogan of "Joe Must NOT Go." He says he has received about 12,000 signatures. He went to Madison and made a speech to the For America state headquarters there, denouncing the recall movement as a stunt to raise the mortgage on Gore's newspaper. Such was the impression that Reuter made on the leaders of For America that they appointed him their Sauk City chairman, in charge of organizing a chapter. A panel discussion was organized on the subject, "At What Point Does Liberalism Become Un-American?"

Reuter has a photo showing him walking beside McCarthy in a Legion parade. He keeps it behind the bar at Lehman's saloon and plans to hang it up in the "Door for Gore" headquarters in the back room. The mink rancher says he has received four letters from McCarthy commending his efforts.

Meantime, a rock has crashed through a window of Gore's frame house in Sauk City and he and his wife have been threatened repeatedly.

"Sometime I wake up at night," said Gore, "and wonder about this whole thing. I wonder if I have holes in my head.

"But someone has to do it. We're not going to quit now."

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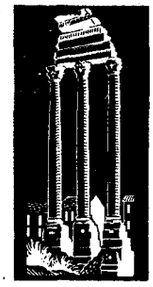
Rome Dispatch SUCCESS FOR SCELBA

In southern and southeastern Europe Anglo-American co-operation on behalf of strengthened military defense of the West against Soviet aggression is working well. The Trieste compromise between the Italian and Yugoslav governments is the result of secret negotiations conducted—with the full knowledge and support of Washington—in and through London since last February. The Balkan military alliance linking Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey, first considered seriously at the time of Marshal Tito's state visit to London, is another success for the joint efforts of Britain and the US.

The division of labor has been that London took care of Belgrade while Washington handled Rome. The next steps now are getting Italian public opinion to accept both the Trieste compromise and the Balkan pact; and then getting the Italian parliament to ratify EDC and to join in some way with Yugoslavia in military co-operation.

It seems very likely that the steps will be taken during the next few months. When they are, they will be successes neither for the British nor for the Americans but for Italian Premier Mario Scelba. At his meeting in Milan with Secretary Dulles during the early days of the Geneva conference he promised to deliver support for the kind of foreign policy which the US wanted, provided that Washington let him run his domestic affairs the way he wanted to run them. And though this meant a variety of anti-Communism on the home front, diametrically opposed to the one strongly advocated to the point of direct pressure by the US Embassy in Rome, the Secretary of State agreed.



Since the Italian Christian Democratic Party failed to win an absolute majority of the votes at the general election just over a year ago—and hence the "premium" of seats in the Chamber of Deputies provided by the tricky election law—Mrs. Luce, the US Ambassador, had given her full support to ex-Premier Giuseppe Pella and the right wing of the party which favored a "national front" with the monarchist and neo-Fascists. Scelba told Dulles this was a grave error. Only a coalition based on links between the Center-Left of the party and the Democratic Socialists, he maintained, could get ratification of EDC and keep Italy securely Atlantic and Europeanist.

Dulles was willing to take the risk. Scelba's version of the Italian situation was very different—and far more hopeful—from the one he had been given by Mrs. Luce. The two men struck a bargain. Scelba will begin paying his share when Trieste is accepted by the Italians in its present form, as the least of several possible evils; he won't finish paying until EDC is approved.

But Dulles has already paid more. It was his deal with Scelba that permitted the triumph at the Naples congress of the Christian Democratic Party of a faction led by Amintore Fanfani who has now become secretary-general of the party, replacing Alcide de Gasperi, slated to move up to the presidency of the Italian Republic next year.

Fanfani is the guiding spirit of the "democratic initiative" group whose members are called by their enemies, the "red Dominicans" or the "white Communists." In reality they are Left-of-Center liberal Catholics who believe that the best—if not the only—way of successfully fighting Communism at home is an Italian equivalent of the New Deal.

Scelba who with de Gasperi leads the Center of the party, will probably remain as head of the government during the period when, according to the Constitution, no change can be made for several months before and after the election of a new President. He will conduct the fight for ratification of EDC early in the autumn. But he will have the support of Fanfani whose followers won 51 seats of the party's national council of 63 members.

The new secretary-general of the party, which has dominated Italy's government since the liberation, is a physically small man (5 feet 3 inches), with big and broad ideas. He is a dynamic idealist who, at 46, has learned most of the practical tricks of political realism. The meaning of his rise to power can best be put into perspective by a survey of the party's principal leaders and where they stand on the future chances of the capitalistic spirit in the great struggle against Italian and world Communism.

The left-wing extends from Giovanni Gronchi to Fanfani. At the Naples congress, Gronchi was defeated for election to the party's national council. The closest the Demo-Christians come to fellow-traveling, he stands for an opening on the Left—a deal with Pietro Nenni, the authentically fellow-traveling Socialist leader.

Fanfani forms, with Mayor La Pira of Florence and ex-Deputy Giuseppe Dossetti, a triumvirate which advocates the applications of the principles of Catholic liberalism to the solution of the country's economic and social problems. They have the support of a few highly placed prelates of the Roman Catholic Church, a majority of the country's parish priests; and of a minority of officials at the Vatican.

De Gasperi who was, with Konrad Adenauer of West Germany and Robert Schuman of France, one of the militant apostles of the Vatican's project of "Christian Europe" (the forerunner of the Schuman Plan and also, in a way, of EDC), is now an elder statesman who symbolizes but doesn't really run the Party's Center. That job is Premier Scelba's.

Although Fanfani nominally runs the party and dominates the council, he must rely on the party's small allies—the Democratic Socialists, Liberals and Republicans—in order to get the voting strength he will need in the Chamber of Deputies to achieve ratification of EDC and a start on the New Deal. And although US support seems to have been withdrawn from the enemies of New Deal projects, Fanfani and Scelba will have to come through with payment of their share of the Milan deal by early autumn or face a shift of Washington's attitude back from Dulles to Luce.

Rome FRANK GORRELL

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GERALD W. JOHNSON

★

The Superficial Aspect

PERHAPS the Eisenhower Administration will yet achieve great things in our foreign relations by the exercise of negative diplomacy. Pins, said the schoolboy's essay, have saved many lives by not being swallowed; perhaps Mr. John Foster Dulles is destined to prevent many wars by not attending peace conferences.

Such, at least, is the superficial aspect of the Indo-China settlement. Fighting had continued there for eight years at a cost to us for the last two years of about $800 million a year, and it seemed that there would never be an end; when the Geneva conference assembled things looked worse than ever. Yet once Mr. Dulles had pulled out they wound up the affair in 30 days.

SENATOR KNOWLAND, the Majority Leader, may have sensed the truth a month ago. He said that if Red China is admitted to the United Nations he will do his best to persuade the United States to get out. His statement was generally attributed to pique, but it may have been based, consciously or unconsciously, on a realistic estimate of the situation. A titular leader with no following rarely contributes anything of value to a general council.

In 20 months the Eisenhower Administration has managed to dissipate the prestige it took the United States 20 years to win. At this moment our following among the nations seems to consist of Cuba; even Canada sits in on administration of the armistice to which we are not a party. It may be plausibly argued, then, that if we withdrew from the United Nations the rest of them might have a chance to come to some reasonable agreement in a larger field than Indo-China.

If Senator Knowland has indeed recognized the incompetence of his party to formulate and apply a rational foreign policy, then his attitude is logical and praiseworthy. It is an evil thing to hang on to a job after you realize that you cannot fill it; the only honorable course is to get out.

On Wednesday morning, July 21, Mr. Eden and the astonishing Mr. Mendès-France became the actual leaders of the free nations, not on account of their superior power but simply because they had demonstrated that they know how to lead. Mr. Dulles, theoretically equipped with greatly superior power, was displaced because he had made it painfully clear that he is himself uncertain of the extent of his authority.

Superficially, Mr. Dulles did the correct thing in assuring the rest of the world that the United States will not play dog in the manger. He pledged us not to use our power, or the threat of our power to block the arrangement now being made in Indo-China. This is all very well provided Mr. Dulles can make the pledge good; but it is already clear that he cannot guarantee that Senator Knowland or Senator McCarthy will support anything he does and there is not much assurance that Vice President Nixon will conform. So the rest of the world may be expected to rely on Eden and Mendès-France rather than on the dubious authority of Mr. Dulles.

The Kremlin, naturally, is beating every available drum to proclaim its mighty triumph in Indo-China. Superficially, this is well justified. A considerable territory and a large population have been withdrawn behind the Iron Curtain, and Red China appears to stand dominant over Asia. Even more important, while the alliance of the democracies has not been split, the former leader has been deposed, the alliance badly shaken.

YET certain questions remain unanswered. One is as to the scene and time of the triumph. Moscow has won; of that there is no doubt. But did Moscow actually win in Indo-China last week, or in the American election in 1952? If Indo-China was the inevitable consequence of the enfeeblement of American diplomacy, the moment it was enfeebled was the moment of Russian triumph.

A second question is this: will a democratic alliance led by Eden and Mendès-France actually be less formidable than an alliance led by Dulles? The dominant position of Red China is not necessarily a net gain if the West is led by men in whom the other Asian nations have confidence. For China is obviously dangerous; the trouble has been that many nations, India in chief, have been inclined to regard the United States under its present leadership as rather more dangerous. With America no longer leading, Indian thinking may turn the other way, and the Muscovite triumph might be as illusory as the 1952 Republican victory.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

The Contours of a Literature

by Irving Howe and Eliezer Greenberg

II

ONCE Yiddish literature is seen as the not quite prepared inheritor of national-cultural tasks, it becomes easier to speculate on those of its qualities that often puzzle readers who have not known it from birth.

The fascination with individual character, with the endlessly minute exposure of motives and manners which pervades twentieth century Western literature, is only occasionally present, and that during the more recent decades, in Yiddish fiction. The reader of this literature will be struck by a good many representative figures:—the student tortured by a conflict between belief and secular desire; the Jewish householder trembling on the edge of poverty yet proud in his independence; the Jewish child wavering between gaiety and sadness; the ignoramus or sainted fool who proves holier than the man ordained to holiness. Such figures stay in the mind, they have the endurance of archetypes; but they are not, in any sense familiar to most Western readers, "individualized" characters; and if we mechanically apply the stock notions of our criticism to these stories we shall simply be unable to make them out. In reading Yiddish fiction one seldom experiences the desire to remember more about the characters than their stark, generalized traits.

Not even Sholom Aleichem's Tevye the Dairyman, one of the great figures of modern literature, can be said to be thoroughly individualized; we see him in the round, in his social relations, in his accustomed gestures, in his inimitable speech and above all, in his typical situations. But not in his inner reflections, not in those moments of exposed consciousness or dream-life when he has no defense against the observing eye. For in the nature of things, a character in Yiddish literature must always have a defense. It is hardly an accident that Tevye tells his stories *to* Sholom Aleichem; he consciously organizes, he provides comment and lends perspective—and so dominant a speaker is not a convenient choice, at least in literature, for a display of depth psychology.

The Yiddish story is sometimes a monologue, more often a dialogue, very seldom a plunge into private rumination. The major Yiddish writers, at least those who began publishing before the first World War, are largely untouched by that passion for fret-work psychology which makes modern writing a thing of marvelous refinement but also tends to dissolve the structure of behavior into a stream of perceptual notation.

In this respect Sholom Aleichem and Peretz are like Kafka. The Yiddish masters are largely unconcerned with the psychology of individual difference; Kafka consciously puts it aside. Whether Kafka was greatly influenced by the Yiddish tradition remains an unsettled question, though the similarities between his stories and some of the Hasidic tales are remarkable. But he is akin to the Yiddish writers in that he, like them, deals not with psychological arithmetic, the numbers of individual configuration, but with the algebra of situation and emotion. That is why you cannot find in Kafka, as you cannot find in Peretz, those delicately modeled and infinitely subtle character studies we associate with James and Proust. What matters most to the Yiddish writers is the context, the contour, the choreography of social behavior: in short, collective destiny.

And in Yiddish literature the sense of collective destiny finally comes through in one dominant theme. Because of its own limitations, the world of the east European Jews made impossible the power hunger, the pretensions to aristocracy, the whole mirage of false values that have blighted Western intellectual life. The virtue of powerlessness, the power of helplessness, the company of the dispossessed, the sanctity of the insulted and injured—this, finally, is the great theme of Yiddish literature.

A culture that has gained inner security or has even begun to decline a little, a culture that has bitten eagerly into the apple of power and success, is likely to indulge itself in the luxury of individual self-examination. Introspection, spiritual testing, self-doubt —these familiar elements of Western life are tied to that sense of estrangement and aloneness, that sense of the self as an insupportable burden, which everyone in an industrial civilization seems to feel to one extent or another. In the literature that appears at such a time, the probing of individual differences and nuances in behavior will be far advanced.

Suppose, however, that you are living in a society which, whatever its weaknesses and faults, is still coherent internally yet is constantly threatened from without. Such a society, particularly when its ethos rests upon the assumption that God has granted it a unique destiny, will inevitably aspire toward cultural expressions of a collective type. In this society the individual will not be disdained but neither will he be exalted; he will be seen rather as the agent and embodiment of the community, who must be prevented, if he shows any such inclinations, from tumbling into the pits of Western egotism. It follows that in the literature of such a society the central concerns will be not with individual specification but with its unifying patterns of conduct.

JUST as the appetite for "individualized characterization," so chronic among modern readers, cannot be satisfied by Yiddish literature, so will these critics who think of prose fiction mainly in terms of an interplay of social manners be somewhat perplexed by Yiddish literature. (As, for that matter, they should also be perplexed by Russian literature.) The gradations of social manners revealed in a Jane Austen novel depend upon the existence of an ordered world that has had time to settle,

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ripen and develop freely; a world that has become sufficiently relaxed to allow its tendencies toward a diversification of manners to reach their bloom.

But this could never be the case with the world of the east European Jews. Even the pathetic little snobberies of the *shtetl* (the little town in which many of them lived), even the cruel vanities of its caste system, were enacted within a sharply compressed area. There wasn't the social space—nor even, by the way, the geographical space — that would make possible a full display of contrasting manners within the *shtetl*. In a few later Yiddish writers like Lamed Shapiro one does find the idea of manners as index to morality and belief, particularly in his story "Easting Days"; but this remains the exception rather than becoming the rule.

Moreover, the social differences among the east European Jews, considerable as they soon became, were never so deep-going as the social differences between themselves and the outer world. To be a Jew was the determining condition of one's life, far more so than one's wealth or poverty, learning or ignorance. The wealthy Jew of the *shtetl* was far better off than the poor one, yet both lived within a few houses of each other, often on the same muddy street, and both trembled equally before the drunken or inflamed peasant. Even in the cities the social range between Jew and non-Jew was almost always greater than the range between wealthy and poor Jew. Clearly, this was not a climate in which fine discriminations of manners could flourish.

But a more fundamental fact needs to be stressed. The notion that a man's appearance reflects, in some mysteriously strategic way, the qualities of his soul—a notion that pervades American writing and in the work of such writers as John O'Hara has become an obsession—never took deep hold in Yiddish literature. Nor in the Russian, either. Tolstoy believed that a man's destiny is not a function of his social role; Dostoevsky believed that the elder Karamazov, wretched buffoon that he was, could rise to salvation; and the Yiddish writers also knew that in the essential human experiences not the play of manners but the direct, fearful encounter of moral assumptions was fundamental.

BEN SHAHN

A similar hypothesis may help explain why Yiddish literature, particularly the prose, is so poor in formal experimentation. (By contrast, recent Yiddish poetry has been sensitive, and often with striking results, to modernist techniques in Western poetry). A literature so heavily weighted with national tasks is not likely to know the freedom—the possibility for play, in both senses of the word—that is needed for literary experiment. Most of the innovations of twentieth century literature result from a feeling among major writers that various inherited styles, manners or genres have become "exhausted"—and that radical shifts in literary strategy are necessary if imaginative writing is not to stagnate.

At least until recently, however, the Yiddish writers have found themselves in quite another situation. Among them there was not time enough for a style or genre to become "exhausted"; they were still at the stage of trying to press urgent materials and themes into whatever style or genre seemed to be at hand. The literary curve which ends with *avant garde* writing had for them just begun. Nothing could yet seem used up, few things had even been tried; the problem was rather that their material was frequently too immediate to be pacified into the forms they could usefully control.

Yiddish writing is preoccupied, above all, with themes; life is still beating urgently at the doors of art. "The writer was struggling with his themes," begins a story by David Pinski, a Yiddish writer who spent a lifetime struggling with his themes; and this opening sentence might well be the epigraph of all Yiddish literature.

For the Yiddish writers did not work in a culture sufficiently at ease to encourage the kind of art that abandons any effort directly to reflect or reform the world in which it appears. That sense of esthetic distance, that aristocratic savoring of isolation which makes for an intense concern with formal literary problems, was not available to the Yiddish writer. From birth, so to speak, he was an "engaged" writer: in that sense he was indeed chosen. Art for art's sake, whether as a serious commitment or a shallow slogan, finds little nourishment in the soil of Yiddish literature, even though an occasional attempt is made to transplant it there. But then, how could any theory of pure estheticism take hold in a culture beset by the primary questions of existence and survival?

If the unique circumstances of Yiddish literature imposed certain disabilities and burdens upon it, the advantages it gained from its position of historical precariousness now seem by far the greater. For whatever its limitations of scope and form, Yiddish literature is endowed with a moral poise, a security of values that is very rare in our age or, for that matter, in any other.

A culture that has been able to resist the temptations of worldly power—or has been blocked at the threshold of those temptations—will naturally favor an image of heroism very different from the one we know in Western literature. Few Yiddish novels or stories contain heroes who satisfy the Aristotelian formula. The rhythm of *hybris* and the climb from *hybris* into humility is not really organic to Yiddish literature, though conspicuous examples of it can, of course, be found. Most Yiddish writers, especially those in the generation of Sholom Aleichem and I. L. Peretz, place a far greater stress upon the theme of anti-heroism. Perhaps this throws some light on two problems with regard to Yiddish literature, one technical and the other historical.

A good many Yiddish stories deliberately avoid the traditional ending of a dramatic climax. Surely the strong Chekhov influence cannot be the only reason. Might there not be a connec-

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tion, one wonders, between this narrative strategy and the theme of anti-heroism—with the absence of climax a kind of rhythmic equivalent to the refusal of heroism?

The prevalence of this theme may also help explain why some Zionists have been tempted to look with impatience upon Yiddish literature. In the nature of their efforts, the Zionists desired to retrieve — or improvise — an image of Jewish heroism; and in doing so they could not help finding large portions of Yiddish literature an impediment. The fact that Yiddish literature had to assume the burden of sustaining a sense of national identity did not thereby make it amenable to the needs of national ideology. Having for so long been exposed to the condition of powerlessness, Yiddish culture could not quickly accustom itself to the climate of power.

Rejecting the whole ethos of historical aggrandizement as it has come to us from the Greek drama and been colored by the era of Christian expansion, the Yiddish writers express through the theme of anti-heroism their admiration for those who do not exert their social will but live and endure in silence, as well as their contempt for what the outer world takes to be greatness but which they often feel is no more than an appetite for blood. Sholom Aleichem's Tevye the Dairyman is the embodiment of the anti-heroic Jewish hero whose sheer power of survival and comment makes the gesture of traditional heroism seem rather absurd. Peretz too is fascinated by the problem of heroism, but being more "modern" than Sholom Aleichem he ends with a more ambivalent feeling. In a number of his stories the victim is seen as the sanctified agent of moral purity, but in his later work Peretz turns upon this theme with a bitter impatience, as if to say that Jewish heroism has degenerated into weak passivity.

AMONG the writers of the generation that follows Sholom Aleichem and Peretz there occurs a deliberate effort to revive the tradition of Jewish heroism. These writers, particularly Sholem Asch and Joseph Opatashu, reject the pacific tenor of "classical" Yiddish writing; they seek to inspire their readers with a militant, almost warlike readiness to struggle in behalf of Jewish survival; they feel that, in part at least, that the world must be met with the ways of the world.

But in the main, the tradition of anti-heroism continues to dominate Yiddish writing. *Dos kleine menschelah,* the little man, appears again and again at the center of Yiddish fiction: it is he, long-suffering, persistent, lovingly ironic, whom the Yiddish writers celebrate; it is the poor but proud householder trying to maintain his status in the *shtetl* world even as he grows poorer and poorer who appeals to their imagination far more than might an Aeneas or an Ahab. Anyone, they seem to say, can learn to conquer the world, but only a Tevye or a literary descendent of Tevye can learn to live in it. This ordinary humble man becomes an almost legendary archetype in Abraham Reisen's little sketches, the very fragmentariness of whose form reveals the essence of their *Weltanschauung.*

FROM this central figure of Yiddish literature—one might call him the Representative Man of the *shtetl*—there emerges a number of significant variations and off-shoots. One extreme variation is the wise or sainted fool who has often given up the householder's struggle for dignity and thereby acquired the wry perspective of the man on the outside. At other times he is a wanderer, hopeless in this world because so profoundly committed to another.

Hand in hand with the anti-heroic Jewish hero, and more at the center of things than the sainted fool, goes the Jewish child, precocious, ingenious, deprived yet infinitely loved. The completely carefree story about the adventurous boy that is so favored in English, is virtually absent from the Yiddish, if only because that kind of boy could seldom survive in Jewish life. In the Yiddish story, the child almost always carries a social burden heavier than we in America are accustomed to believe appropriate for children. Pained by this thought, Sholom Aleichem writes in his autobiography: ". . . this is not meant for you, Jewish children! Yellow sunflowers, sweet-smelling grass, fresh air, fragrant earth, the clear sun—forgive me, these are not meant for you . . ." This note of deprivation winds through almost all Yiddish children's stories. Too young, far too young, they become *kleine menschalah*, little men—pale and bent scholars who do not see the sun, premature wage-earners scurrying for a piece of bread.

Yet they seem to bear these burdens, at least in the literature, with spirit and even joy. For in Yiddish literature the family is generally shown as still a cohesive unit; fathers may be strict, mothers tearful, brothers oppressive, but love breaks through and beneath the barriers of ritual. If there are few carefree children in Yiddish literature, there are few unloved and brutalized children. A story like Henry James's *The Turn of the Screw* would have puzzled Jewish readers who had been brought up on Abraham Reisen's tender sketches of childhood or Sholom Aleichem's loving stories about Mottel the cantor's son. They would have had difficulty in grasping the moral assumptions behind James's story. How, one can hear them asking, does a father leave his children in the hands of strangers to begin with? The many writings in English, from Dickens to Graham Greene, about children hated and exploited find hardly an equivalent in Yiddish. There children may have it hard, but never from coldness. For whatever the deficiencies of Yiddish literature, the power of love remains: for the child, the poor, the weak, for the insulted and injured everywhere. It is the power at the heart of the Yiddish tradition.

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This is the second of three essays on Yiddish Literature, drawn from a longer study which will appear in A Treasury of Yiddish Stories, *to be published by the Viking Press in October.*

Atlantic Federation

THREATENED by outside attack and weakened by internal divisions, the peoples whose lands cluster the North Atlantic have undertaken to associate in an extraordinary intimate fashion.

Freedom Against Itself, by Clarence K. Streit (Harper; $3.75).

Custom unions, economic councils, common military staffs have proliferated; the first faltering steps have been taken to create a European army; above all, the military power of the United States and Canada has been definitely har-

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nessed to that of Western Europe by means of NATO. For Mr. Streit, however, this is insufficient; the imperative necessity confronting the Atlantic Democracies is not merely to associate, but to pool their peoples in one organic Federal Union.

Let us, we are advised, seek guidance from the experience of the American colonists in 1787. In the years following the Revolution the colonists were divided, jealous of one another, desperately in need of a unifying government. Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, George Washington and the others who gathered in Philadelphia's Independence Hall during the summer of 1787 renounced all forms of alliances and leagues. Instead they boldly constructed a Federal Union whose basic principle, according to Mr. Streit, is as applicable to the international scene today as it was to the young American Republic. The authors of the Federalist Papers carefully explained that whenever government enforces its will against other sovereignties (as was the case then under the Articles of Confederation and now in the United Nations) the result is either anarchy or war. The only form of government effective enough to guarantee the blessings of liberty without inviting the folly of strife operates directly on individuals through courts and by means of general laws. The moral is obvious to Mr. Streit: it is now urgently necessary to convoke a Federal Convention of the Atlantic Community (preferably in the city of Quebec). The stirring events of 1787 thus assume their true importance as a "Great Rehearsal."

Significantly, our author does not pretend that the members of the Communist bloc could be induced to enter into a contractual arrangement limiting their sovereignty. Since the political conditions for a World Federal Union are non-existent, he rather would confine his scheme to the free nations who must in any case band together for mutual protection. The "new Federalists" have thus neatly involved themselves in a lethal argument: war is caused by the rivalry of national sovereignties; it is obvious that the Soviet Union would never consent to enter a federal union it did not control; then, we must add, is it not apparent that nuclear war is mankind's inexorable fate? If the elimination of national sovereignty is the stark alternative to inevitable atomic conflict, the prospects for human survival are dim indeed. Fortunately, perhaps, international politics is more complex than the theorists of Federal Union Now would lead us to believe.

First, a Federal Union limited to the Atlantic Democracies is put forth by its advocates as a measure which will help avert war; therefore, the continued coexistence of diverse sovereignties (Communist and non-Communist) apparently is not as fatal as was originally postulated. That is, if sovereignty leads to war then Communist nations must be members of a World Federal Union or all is lost; Mr. Streit proposes leaving the Communists outside of his Union but assures us that the cause of peace is thereby served. Why, then, should a tight Federal Union be required of the Western powers when apparently cooperation through traditional channels is still possible even between unfriendly states?

Moreover, the fundamental thesis of Federal Union is of doubtful validity. Government may bring with it undoubted advantages, but if a community is rent by factionalism then imposing state structure will avail little—as the long history of rebellion and civil war attests. Even the American Federal Union, which is the model proffered us, proved incapable of forestalling civil war in 1861. On the other hand, there are many examples of close friendship between independent nations. War, in short, is too complex a phenomenon to be caused merely by lack of political machinery. The existence of institutions is not interchangeable with the art of compromise.

Naturally, American experience with federal techniques is of great interest at the present time. But it should also be remembered that the men who drew up the American Constitution did not plan for federation with other powers; indeed, they had just fought a revolution in order to be independent of, not merged with, Great Britain. The American community had developed to the point, by 1787, where powerful voices clamored for a more perfect union; but the Founding Fathers also knew that, in a world of diverse peoples and cultures, enlightened diplomacy is the Republic's most serviceable shield.

Given the varied traditions and backgrounds of the chief Atlantic powers, it is perhaps advantageous to all that the channels of collaboration are too rudimentary to prick national pride but resilient enough to be used for the resolution of pressing problems. In the bitter confusion of tragedy following hard upon triumph the Western Democracies have pondered Edmund Burke's wise counsel: "When evil men conspire, the good must associate." The "association" of free nations should not stubbornly be constricted within any single mold.

BERNARD E. BROWN

ANNOUNCING

INTERIM

edited by A. WILBER STEVENS

VOLUME IV, Number 1-2

This long-awaited double-issue features an open letter from Stanislaus Joyce to Dr. Oliver Gogarty, a hitherto unpublished autobiographical piece by F. Scott Fitzgerald; also stories, articles and poems by Malcolm Cowley, Josephine Miles, Douglas Woolf, Richard Eberhart, Winfield Townley Scott, Arnold Stein, E. H. Eby, Kenneth O. Hanson, Henry Treece, Harvey Manning and twenty other writers here and abroad.

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Freud & Education

IN HIS BOOK, Dr. Pearson has attempted to show where and how psychoanalytic findings can be useful to educators in the solution of educational problems. Since most of the blame for the difficulties of children and their parents have been laid at the door of either current educational or psychoanalytic practice, the public, if not the professionals have long since linked the two points of view. Actually, neither the classroom nor the analyst's couch could remain uncontaminated by the other. Freud's insistence on the importance of early childhood development and relationships has focussed psychoanalytic

Psychoanalysis and the Education of the Child, by Gerald H. J. Pearson (Norton; $5).

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theory on the very period most of concern to educators. John Dewey and Sigmund Freud alike lurk behind the blackboards and in the waiting rooms of the principal's office with diagnostic clues and methodological cures. The Learning Problem (which invariably, if mistakenly, means the Learning Failure) can sometimes be helped by changes in the educational methods or personnel, or sometimes by the application of psychotherapy, but he will undoubtedly be best served by the combined interest and understanding both his psychodynamic and his educational needs.

Dr. Pearson has psychiatric information and experience to offer to the educator: he explains in Freudian formulations the organization of the ego and the defense mechanisms which may help or hinder a child to function in a schoolroom with a given teacher and a given group of peers. He explains the kind of psychological conflicts and relationships which might block learning in arithmetic and/or reading, spelling, writing, etc. He, like so many other psychoanalysts before him, takes a crack at explaining the psychological mechanisms which go into the making of a creative artist.

The premise that human adjustment depends on the working out of the conflict between instinctual and social needs limits the material and terminology to one view of learning theory. It is nonetheless a useful book and should not only be helpful to educators, psychiatrists and interested parents but should stimulate further (and perhaps less parochial) investigation which should benefit both psychiatric and educational thinking and practice.

RUTH G. NEWMAN

Unpopular Economics

DURING the last few years, numerous books designed to make economics easy for the intelligent layman have flooded out among us. The more respectable efforts include George Soule's *Introduction to Economic Science*, John Gamb's *Man, Money, and Goods*, and Robert Heilbroner's *The Worldly Philosophers*. Each of these three has its merits and it is unlikely that anyone will be the worse or the less-informed for reading them. But each of them has a major flaw, which can be most readily put in this way; at all costs the popularization must be simple. Since some economic topics are so complex as to defy accurate simplification, the popularizer either ignores them or misrepresents them. Examples of both approaches mar the otherwise good books I have mentioned. As a result, the earnest reader may be deluded into believing that the mixture of anecdote, biography, and analogy that he is fed, is in good sooth the stuff of economics and that he now understands how economic theories are constructed and economic policies created.

History of Economic Analysis, by Joseph Schumpeter (Oxford; $17.50).

There are two easy ways to dispel this illusion. The first is to read through any widely used textbook, say Samuelson's *Economics* and note the difficulties which accompany even an elementary college presentation. The second is to devote a summer to the reading of the massive volume before us, Schumpeter's posthumous *History of Economic Analysis*, edited from manuscript by his wife, herself recently deceased, Elizabeth Boody Schumpeter. This tremendous work of scholarship, some 1250 large, closely written pages, plentifully studded with footnotes, traces the history of economic analysis from the Greeks down to the present. Schumpeter treats most fully the nineteenth century when his own heroes, Walras (the inventor of a system of simultaneous equations purporting to determine all prices), Menger and Jevons (the proponents of a theory of pricing which emphasized consumer demand), worked and flourished. A tremendous store of erudition, a real passion for completeness, and a baroque literary style combine in Schumpeter to produce a work without rival.

Now the most striking lesson of this performance is simply that economics is a difficult subject in which quite complex mathematical and statistical techniques may produce results too sophisticated for popular demonstration. For this development Schumpeter offers no apology. On the contrary, he is proud that economics has developed language and methods of its own. It is a mark of its growth as a science. And his book makes no concession to American tastes in popularization. For one thing it is excessively allusive. Complicated theories receive brief mention and inadequate explanation. For all of its 1250 pages, the volume is too short. For another thing, Schumpeter assumes an extent of knowledge in his readers which no non-economists, and few economists possess. In many ways, therefore, this work is for the specialist in the history of economic ideas.

Yet, I do not hesitate to recommend it to the general reader who may expect to derive many benefits from it. Not least of them is the opportunity to discover what economics really has been like, even if he doesn't understand much of the subject. There are large sections devoted to the general intellectual background of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which are delightful to read and easy to understand. More than all this, there is a pervading sense in Schumpeter of a curious intellect roving over pastures of the mind a great deal broader than economics. It is for this final reason that the reader interested in the history of ideas will find much in Schumpeter to enlighten, as well as much that will confuse. It is a pity that Oxford has seen fit to charge such a prohibitive price for this unique performance.

LEWIS WOOD

Notes on the Critics

IRVING HOWE is on the English faculty of Brandeis University. ELIEZER GREENBERG is a Yiddish poet. BERNARD E. BROWN is co-author of a forthcoming book on the Atlantic Democracies. RUTH G. NEWMAN is a psychologist and educator. LEWIS WOOD is writing a book on Economic Theory.

COMING
AUGUST 16

New Times, New Values

•

an essay

by

Malcolm Cowley

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CORRESPONDENCE

► Catholicism and Science

The answer to the question, "Whose eyes are immune?" is probably the key to differences between Mr. Marc Karson and myself stemming from Mr. Karson's review of my book *The Worker Speaks His Mind On Company and Union,* (*NR,* April 12), and our subsequent correspondence, (*NR,* May 24 and June 21).

Mr. Karson's sincere position seems to be that Catholics cannot be true scientists because, aside from small debatable areas, "there are predetermined limits established by the Church . . . with which they may never disagree." This, I regret, is confused thinking.

While *applications* of philosophy and theology to labor-management relations (which, perhaps ineptly, I called "Catholic labor principles") are quite debatable, obviously, for the Catholic the basic philosophies and theological principles themselves are not debatable. In these latter, the Catholic is not still seeking truth; he has found it.

Catholic social scientists, for example, are absolutely certain that all men are created equal and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Hence Catholic scientists are opposed to all forms of authoritarian statism, be it Fascist, Communist, or Socialist, which would deny the dignity and God-given rights of the individual person. In a word, the Catholic has a "set of values."

But I repeat my original critique of Mr. Karson (*NR,* May 24), unanswered by him: "The question is not 'having a set of values,' but whether or not the scientist lets those values prejudice his research." By Mr. Karson's logic, the Jew or Protestant cannot be scientists any more than the Catholic. Neither can the secularist, the Laskian Socialist, the agnostic nor the atheist, for they too have very definite values.

Mr. Karson well says that "the eye sees what it takes to the seeing." We psychologists have a number of experiments clearly demonstrating such influence of "values" on "perception." What endangers Mr. Karson's own scholarly position is that he apparently thinks his saying applies only to the Catholic scientist, but not to himself or to *any* scientist. I say "dangerous" because when a man is seemingly unaware that his own value-system may bias his judgment, he is then very prone to bias indeed.

Mr. Karson also states: "It is axiomatic that objectivity and individual judgment are bound to be casualties wherever there is a rigidly postulated ideological system." There is really no such axiom. You have painstakingly to study each researcher's methods and findings.

As for my own research methods, non-directive interviewing has proved a good way to perceive the deeper attitudes and motivations of people. Moreover, many packinghouse workers (who should know) have written me that the interviews in my book have the ring of sincerity. Finally, my theme of the worker's "dual allegiance" to both company and union has been independently explored and presented by other (non-Catholic) American social scientists.

I would welcome scientific criticism of my research methods which I know to be imperfect. But Mr. Karson will help to advance social science only when he learns that his *own* eye also "sees what it takes to the seeing." Then he may dig directly into the researcher's methods and findings, rather than start, *a priori,* with the easy stereotype that the research is scientifically untrustworthy merely because the researcher happens to be a Catholic.

THEODORE V. PURCELL, S.J.
Chicago, Ill. *Loyola University*

► Morse and a New Giveaway

Readers may be interested to note the following excerpt from a speech by Senator Wayne Morse, "The New Giveaway: Atomic Energy", quoted in *The Congressional Record,* July 17.

> . . . I read with some interest an article in *Look* magazine entitled "Ike's Cronies," and I noticed some discussion of a very distinguished American, of whom I am very fond as a golfer, Bobby Jones. I am not blind to the fact, however, that he is also the director of one of the great power companies, The Southern Co., and I know that it is a member of the Dixon-Yates combine, with which the President has directed the Atomic Energy Commission to enter into a contract in regard not to atomic energy, but electric power.
>
> It raises a question in my mind if what we are doing is substituting the golf stick for the public power yardstick. The golf stick does not supply the public with any protection.
>
> In submitting the bill to us . . . the President opens himself up to exactly just such surmises. He opens himself up to the question: What influences are being brought to bear, and by whom, that he would urge such a contract and that he would urge such a bill. . . .

Such information leads this writer to wonder just how far the Eisenhower administration will go in allowing personal favoritism to dictate important legislation.

Parenthetically, the Anderson Amendment, which would have quashed the "Dixon-Yates" deal prohibiting the further expansion of TVA in preference to private power companies, was defeated in a Senate vote last Wednesday, 55-36. It was pointed out to me that the gallery was packed with private power cogs from throughout the nation. This may be of interest to those who did not witness the giveaway as I did.

L. LYMAN HUMPHREY
Long Ridge, Conn.

► Abstract Expressionism

In his article on painting in the July 12 issue Geoffrey Wagner may be right in administering extreme unction to the "Pollock drip school of painters," the "chamber of horrors," as he calls it, presumably visited by feverish abstract-artists squeezing tubes full of paint onto large canvasses (after all it looks so easy to do why I bet any child could do it) and casually grinding cigarette butts and crushed glass into the mess. No one of any importance, he contends, is much impressed by their now too, too bourgeois art; they are so commonplace and *passé* that only city councilors see their work as "advanced."

Mr. Wagner (like William Buckley and Russell Hope Robbins in other fields) so skillfully loads the dice against this indigenous American movement that one is *first* prompted to knit up Mr. Wagner's ravelled esthetic sleeve and *then* to get around to asking what cocktail parties he attends where the martinis are so dry that Pollock and

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Kline are as dull as Sherman on his horse in the park.

On second thought perhaps the cocktail party would be more interesting. It sounds like fun, anyway, to speculate on what tastes would be *de rigeur*. Can you imagine the Marx brothers there with Harpo squeezing his horn, Chico hawking his tutti-frutti ice-cream and Groucho zanily wiggling his eyebrows and blowing cigar smoke at a revolutionary group of Andrew Wyeth supporters?

One might quote the same critics Mr. Walker uses—especially Stuart Preston, who has paid Kline the recognition he deserves for his grace as well as for his honest massiveness—and many more, including Thomas Hess and Clement Greenberg, to prove the case for current approval of the abstract expressionists. One might note that they do not always "drip" nor are their techniques any more similar than the forms they are interested in.

One might ask why as major a figure as William DeKooning does not even rate a nod or why imitators—there are certainly plenty—are assumed to be the same as originators; why the sentimental camera angles of Andrew Wyeth as "an American phenomenon [are] vastly important" and the abstract expressionists, no longer interested in the shape of the barn but very much so in the molecules holding it together, are less phenomenal; why the "realists" with their "comments on life by formal relationships" have God on their side and the new-old group are spattering their way to oblivion with their "handsome designs" (this is not to say their esthetic precludes an ability to reconstruct that old chestnut, the objective universe); why, anyway, DeKooning's metaphysical patternings of colorful objects—admittedly they are not "natural" in the sense that they startle by recognition, as the objects of the realists do—do not make as much "artistic pronouncement on life" as the expressionism of Hyman Bloom and Jack Levine. (Is Bloom really interested in chandeliers and corpses or in certain qualities of their textures?)

But, no, I'm still more fascinated by Mr. Wagner's vision of all those stuffy GOP city councilmen, bidding for the services of Pollock to do the mural in the new post office.

FREDERICK W. WILLEY

Cambridge, Mass.

► NR Congressional Report

It seems a long time since you have put out an issue with voting records of Congress. I use this as my bible and miss having a current one.

ADA MURRAY CLARKE

Flushing, New York

The Congressional voting records are now being compiled and will be published shortly after the present Congress adjourns.—The Editors.

BANDWAGON

About 300 patrons of the Sheridan School District voted last night at a meeting to retain racial segregation in their schools.

J. H. Duncan, a candidate for State Representative from Grant County, told the meeting that "I am wondering if the Supreme Court justices are not Communist-infiltrated and if maybe Senator Joseph R. McCarthy shouldn't investigate the Supreme Court."—*New York Times*, June 3, 1954.

Troubles in Guatemala continue. Washington worried this week about:

Disenfranchisement of illiterate voters by the Guatemalan junta. There are practical reasons for the move: Communists and other demagogues delight in exploiting the unlettered at the polls. But Washington would have preferred to see the problem handled more subtly.

US diplomacy will be crucial in avoiding crisis and sparking progressive policies in Guatemala.—*Business Week*, July 10, 1954.

"I was a little critical of the foreign policy of the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations," he [Hoover] said.

"Now we have a Republican Administration, and I'm not taking part in foreign policy."—*Dallas Morning News*, July 5, 1954.

. . . Frankly, I have felt for two years that (Marquis) Childs is a Democrat, for he slants his ideas far to the left. — Mrs. Clarabel Johnson in a letter to the editor, *Newark Evening News*, July 7, 1954.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS.

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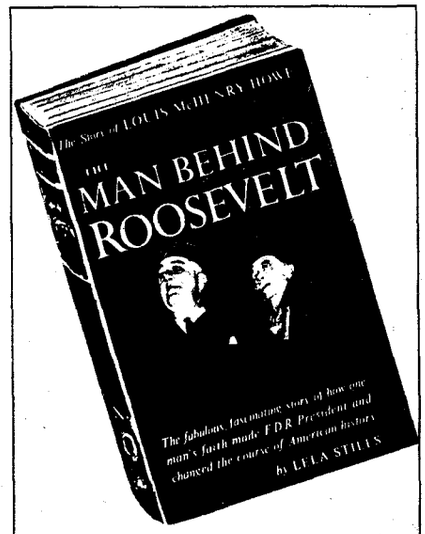
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What Is Opinion?

A JOURNAL OF OPINION has always to face the attack of the practical man that it is a mere vehicle for dilettantism, which wastes in expressing sentiments the energy which should go to the presentation of sober fact and sound data. There is far too much opinion at large in the world already, he thinks. What he wants is not more opinion, but a guide out of the fog-bank into some clear light.

Opinion is a view of a situation based on grounds short of proof. In a valid opinion they must be *just* short of proof. Good opinion is not spasmodic. The mind must have made a very wide sweep, made the complete circuit of the compass. It must first have hunted down the predisposing prejudice and neutralized it, and then bent itself to discovering all the factors that converge upon the situation. A good opinion places the event or person or idea it is judging firmly in a scheme of things.

But good opinion is not flabby and uncertain. It is not a "much to be said on both sides." It is an interpretation with a definite slant and bias. But it presses hotly for proof. It does not object to examining itself, to publishing the source of its interpretations. It takes you freely behind the scenes. It is not afraid to show you the foundations of the categories and terms in which it is expressed. It will let the bony frame-work of its presuppositions stand out rather boldly at times. It invites criticism. What it wants is to understand, to get the thing it is judging rightly placed, to grasp its true meaning in the world.

If such opinion is to be this force of the future, there cannot be too much of its guiding thread. Yet it constantly becomes not easier but harder to form valid opinions. We are stunned by the volume of what there is to know in the human world. We have every day set before us infinitely more than we can possibly digest. We run the constant risk of missing completely the relevant and the important. Discussion and universal reading have not really made popular opinion any more intelligent or reliable. They have merely made great masses emotionally articulate, rendered prejudice more vociferous and varied. The need for interpreters, for resolute expressers of opinion, becomes therefore more urgent.

Even if real opinion is a Utopian ideal, and no mind can ever make the wide survey and go through the stringent processes necessary to form it, the brave effort must always be made. Its best will not be valueless. To work at breaking up the cake of intellectual custom, at setting the new terms and values that current society needs will be not to remain entirely futile in the modern world. Quixotic as the enterprise may seem, it is the formation of opinion and not dusty scholarship and solemn cant that will enlist the goodwill and best endeavors of those who aim to think worthily.

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Randolph Bourne
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